/117 cont./

342 761 783 [79?] Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the [779] [628] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept 961 783 123 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
752 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
[476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsʸínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

623 /175 cont./
293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a ceremony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village, that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only reelection, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[26 27] small fiber bag (yáhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/261 cont./

756 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who
787 need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connection, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see
756 pp. 217ff./). Back home again, the youth begins first of all to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision. One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treatment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman
[554] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martin Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship, [123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, ỹũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
● [787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by themselves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
787 278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 278 137 [127] The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

ǩandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), ǩulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundaynskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tātse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 756 278 [774] Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

/264 cont./

756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gẽlyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

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right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists, in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

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greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die. He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

1: Nachtigall--186 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

If someone

/266 cont./

787 [266] dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/ black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexation during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dreaming of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it. Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on [763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father. But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break [754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that [763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a corresponding external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disappointed [181] The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic, like the entire culture of the Paez.

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like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

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without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which, for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

75 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
121 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
(789) bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
(753) death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
● [787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/277 cont./

The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ec̃. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no purification site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the su̇̃ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ec̃, and to be sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

RELIGION, CUSTOMS, SUPERSTITIONS

According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any religion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

Itaki, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the cut-off summits (*itaki finõ*) of high mountains. At certain dates, fixed by their priests (*diçi*) in accordance with their omens, they congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gueió-kó*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kó*, the mouse dance; *neui-kó*, the buzzard dance; *itsa-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *ctĭ-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *himb-ko*,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-kv*, or *fits-kv*, the stick-dance, etc. 535

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoöts*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle. 535 534

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dixi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiañ*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles! 776 778 [79]

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave. 825 795

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin. 787 761 754 825 774

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the 157 533 283

/287 cont./

63/ climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771/ Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
782 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[75] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/182 cont./

The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation. Ownership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its defense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

Children grow up in continuous communion with the activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (tɛ́ ɛ́u). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements) are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfillment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished, the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, including the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the woodland for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices resound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the "cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart, driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas (guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

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389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Stingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[798] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative •787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 75 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

526 /214 cont./
796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
793 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to
●[787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it-
[763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

5:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1964 SC15 Paez SC15

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Medicine and Magic Among the Paez

by

S. Bernal Villa

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Chapter I

The Te Eu

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Note:

sh is equivalent to the French ch (chaise).

ch is equivalent to the Spanish ch (techo).

j is equivalent to the French j (jardin).

h is equivalent to the Spanish j (rojo).

*
756
787

Symptomatology. The good curers, the authentic té eu, in whom the society believes and trusts, those who constitute a monolith of security in the face of the mysteries of illness and death, are those whose vocations were determined by a vision, more precisely by a hallucination. In this case, the fate of the men is inescapable, permits no deviation. This leitmotiv, vigorous in times past, is now on the wane.

A curer from the Parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Santa Rosa describes his vision as follows: "At the age of six, while I was tending a field in the montaña, I saw my mother dressed in black, with a white hat and pouches. She chided me for the poor quality of my work, saying that animals were ruining the field. She walked on and I followed her. At the stream she vanished. I went to my home and found out that the woman was not my mother, since at the moment of the

* /221 cont./
756 vision she was at a 'minga' /communal work-party/ cooking
●757 pork for the laborers.

"There was no doubt but that this was a spirit telling me that I should become a curer. The pouches that she carried indicated this to me. This is why I never fail to take my medicine pouches."

Another curer, from the Parcialidad of Calderas, relates his vision as follows: "One night I saw a beautiful child, fair, with the hair of a woman, reddish, and dressed in a wrapper. This child was the Ghost /Duende/, /222/ from whom the
[178] curer's power comes. He is the same Kallumb as is seen by true curers, because nowadyas there are some who learn to cure through the teaching of others."

In the Parcialidad of San Andrés they say that the Ghost visits the curer when someone goes to consult him, to tell him what brought him and the advice that he should give.

It may also happen, says a Calderuno /native of Calderas/
[262] 19 years old, that someone wishes to become a curer. Then,
[263] he subjects himself to a diet. For one month he eats no salt or ají /Capsicum/. He goes at once to the mountain, alone, his head lowered, lost in thought, with the hope of finding a good friend whose counsel he can ask. At a magnificent spot, pleasant to the senses, he meets a man advanced in years, short of stature, good, generous, amiable in conversation, and amply educated, who chews coca like other Indians and, like them, also carries kuetand yahas (pouches). Filled with trust, he explains his wishes to become a curer, arguing that there are many people who are dying. He asks about the good remedies. The one questioned answers that there are good remedies for curing the sick and presents him with a pouch of them. This one is for such-and-such an illness, he says, this other one for that one, and so on successively, specifying the medicinal value of the remedies in the pouch. He instructs him in their use, technique and method. Up to the way of

/222 cont./

756 787 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] [868] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

754 756 787 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

756 868 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/224 cont./

At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole, over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk, and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine. Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/224 cont./
the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain medicines correspond to certain signs. The té eu must /225/ divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case. This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits. When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate. Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who cures.

The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation. If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery) suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If, for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the té eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice the signs.

All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify something bad, while those on the right indicate something good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

* 756 787 127 755

/225 cont./

Right:
The signs go down the leg: death; remedies will not help.
The signs climb up the foot and the tibia: a member of the family will die and go to heaven.
The signs go up the outer edge of the foot to above the ankle: the remedies will work.
The signs occur between the ankle and the heel and cross to the same spot on the

Left:
The signs go along the inner side of the foot: the pest is leaving; the patient is encouraged.
The signs go up the outer side of the foot: the sorcerer wins; the patient dies.
The signs go up from the ankle to the back of the knee: sorcery; field has a spell on it.
These same signs, but first

/226/

left side: contest between the Té eu and the sorcerer.
Calf (gemelluses): visit of a good woman; the ghost comes singing to point out the remedies.
Calf (outer part of the digits): a good man is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap, signs that go down: a person will die from the rainbow or ghost.
Thigh: the signs run to the back of the knee and disappear: the person will die; fierce pest; serious matter.
Signs go down from the groin to the foot: the

occurring on the right and immediately passing to the left: rainbow /arco/ and Ghost.
Calf (gemelluses): a sorceress is coming to visit the curer.
Calf (extending from the digits): a sorcerer is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap: fear of the sorcerer because he is winning over the Té eu; fear, fright, disaster.
Thigh, the signs go down: bad person going by.
Rib (the tenth): bad person is coming.
Back of the hand: the ghost does not accept the remedies because they are incomplete.
Palm of the hand: the person

* /226 cont./

758 Right:
787 wife is about to
827 menstruate.
755 Rib (the tenth): the patient will die at once; sting of Kallumb.
The signs occur between the ring finger and heart: on the following day the person will wield a shovel to bury a dead person.
Palm of the hand: the person will receive a present; greeting from the ghost; improvement of the pest.
Palm of the hand and passes to the throat: Pijao "dirt."
Thumb and palm of the hand (simian line): the lost animal will appear, the signs indicate that it will be caught.
Biceps: a good person will ask him to be godfather at a baptism.
The signs go from the ear to the shoulder: the ears will be cut off.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the patient will improve; the stolen animal will appear.
Eye and down the nose: wake.

Left:
will die of the pest; the ghost did not accept remedies.

Signs in the arm: the echi is coming.
Biceps: same meaning as for the right side.
Wrist: someone will give a scare; he will be caught.
Shoulder and they make an arc through the chest: rainbow.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the stolen animal was eaten.
Eye and down the nose: a dead person.

/226 cont./

756 When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer
787 is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to
827 the left hand, the person is under a spell.
755 If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.

756 In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness
755 /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to [273] think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente [276] and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them [263] when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

* /233 cont./
756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.
[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

*756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer. The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who became a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself. A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho. On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/241 cont./

731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
* 756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off /242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
* 756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

● [787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
* 756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being performed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed
[262] corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
* 756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

* [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

*[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

[823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He 776 warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit 821 them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it 787 is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

* 756 When a patient requested the services of a curer from 776 Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

* 756 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called 776 Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her 787 serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [747] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 562 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 834 262 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have in other cultures.

* 756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
834 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are poisonous.

* 756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
[263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[785] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day. Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality makes them sleep less.

● 787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams, as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, observes a certain relation between the manifest content of the dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
* [756] do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Interpretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

/249 cont./

787 To dream of jaguars and cats, there is a Pijao "huaca" inside the house.

To dream of a hearth, there is gold at the spot.

[763] To dream that a jaguar is eating the chickens, the person will die of the Pijao pest.

To dream of a cow, the wife will die.

To dream of killing a bull or a horse, a good person will die (curers):

To dream that wasps are stinging him, they are going to catch him.

[763] /250/ To dream that the teeth are falling out painlessly, a close relative will die.

To dream of eating ají, the person will become angry for insignificant reasons.

To dream of finding a new chumbe /band/, they are working for the rainbow to sting him; if he dreamed that he was wrapped in it, the rainbow has stung him.

To dream of carrying beams or canoes, he will help to bury a dead person.

To dream of receiving silver coins, he will suffer from blennorrhagia.

To dream of drowning, there will be a war and he will be taken prisoner, or he will simply be drafted into the army.

* 752 Payment of the Te eu. As a rule, the curers do not collect fees either in money or in kind. Their services are free. In the confirmation of the profusion the first thing that Thunder recommends is to be charitable toward people. One curer states that he does not cure as a business, for he collects neither money nor animals; people reward him with a small gift. Another curer is more dogmatic. To exploit people is to incur God's anger. The people's gratitude is always expressed in the "provisions" (meat, chicha, and aguardiente).

Out of the articles that the patient brings them for the treatments, only a little coca is left over for them. From the ceremonies for the initiation of the harvest they receive cooked

* /252 cont./
756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
[821] by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[763] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

* 756 Competition among the Té eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
*756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

75 539 774 month went by, and we were unable to catch it. We did not sleep. The curer would make another hole, and another. We were tired. 'We shall catch that scoundrel /254/ yet,' he would say to me. When we went on to the seventh hole, at the crowing of the first cock, the soul came. The curer had his tama ready, and at once, zoom! he gave it a blow and it fell into the hole; he tossed earth on top of it and tamped it down well. After a few moments the soul made a whistling sound. 'We killed it,' the curer exclaimed triumphantly. I saw the sorcerer's soul. Then the curer told me to go back, for I was cured. He advised me to take remedies with me, since there are many robbers along the way. Thus it came to pass. I was careful at the dangerous spots. The signs indicated to me the presence of robbers and at once I blew remedies at them (kit sust). They went to sleep.

* 756 539 789 Farther on I met some people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave me coca and aguardiente so that I might prepare the remedies at my house and help to capture the criminal. Thus it came to pass. I put chayuts around my feet and the criminal was unable to walk. They caught him."

75 774 Others say that the one bewitched, with his relatives, goes to the curer, bearing coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. They kill a pig and put a piece from each organ into a small pouch. This is the grease for catching the sorcerer's soul. At the crowing of the first cock, when everyone is chewing coca, the soul comes to get the small pouch, immediately falls into the hole, and the curer tosses upon it fierce echi, remedies, and the chews of all, and covers it and tamps down [783] the earth. This is how he kills the sorcerer. He immediately cleanses the sick person and his relatives. The danger has

* been averted.

756 ● 717 783 When the curer feels the signs at the crown of his head, ptans is being sent to him. He goes without delay to the kachí with pringamoza, paramo cabuya, tama, and flica to wait

5:Bernal Villa--46 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/254 cont./

for it. If a black cloud draws near, he cuts it with the tama. It is the ptans.

The relations between these two men, on whose activities a great part of the security of the group rests, are not cordial; they are relations of latent and permanent aggression. The sorcerers wait for carelessness on the part of the curer. If they catch him asleep, they kill him at once. The sorcerers use pieces of glass to put an end to the wisdom of the Te eu, that is to say, to the signs. They can call sicknesses, combine all the pests, and send them to another parcialidad or to the curer himself so that they will kill.

When a té eu meets a sorcerer, they barely greet each other; at night he takes every precaution.

[694] The curers can accuse a sorcerer before the cabildo, but they are afraid to do so.

/255/

Chapter II

Nasa Jihi

The vision that decides a destiny. Just as a té eu needs to see visions in order to decide on his vocation, the sorcerer also decides by means of visions. For example, if in the beak of a bird there is seen a donkey with open mouth into which mosquitoes fly, or simply pigs, the person is fated to become a sorcerer. These visions are personal and usually occur in isolated spots, such as ravines or bogs, where animals cannot come, on any day or at any hour, for this can take place in the daytime or at night.

When a person claims to have seen a donkey, people say that he is going to eat people. It is commonly stated that those who like to walk about at night are more likely to become sorcerers, for they have the opportunity to meet with evil spirits.

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The tẽ eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a tẽ eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

● [787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided
[156] by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Nevertheless, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs. [825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 534 153 578 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frĵol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frĵol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). 764 766

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

178 764 [763] 765 764 765 756 783

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

764 184 [766] [535] [275] [783] 765 756 787 775 184

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Moguex

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the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Pdez* and *Moguez* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed [411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 [648] [532] [764] The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Pdez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

727 To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

266 [175] [648] [764] [114] Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Pdez* and the *Moguez*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Pdez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

727 [314] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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Moguex

upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [a] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[a] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobotma for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

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Moguez

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguez* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguez* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast